



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

The Menace of Bolshevism

By BARON ROSEN

Former Ambassador of Russia to the United States

IT is needless for me to expatiate on the horrors of the bolshevist régime in Russia. Since the publication of the official reports of American and British representatives in Russia, the absolute truthfulness of which cannot be questioned for a moment, no fair-minded person may entertain any doubt whatever as to the reality of these horrors. And now we have an explanation from the lips of Lenin himself of the aims and policies pursued by the bolshevist tyrants of Russia. An extremely interesting report of this interview with Lenin will be found in the files of the *New York Times* for April 23rd. The report concludes as follows:

Some of his remarks are sufficiently frank and illustrative of the sinister form of moral insanity, which distinguishes the bolshevist mind, to be a terrible warning to Western Europe.

I might mention that I happen to have in my possession a letter just received from a most distinguished English statesman, an old friend and colleague of mine, who writes:

We have learned enough to know what Bolshevism is and by what detestable methods its sanguinary sway is maintained. Nevertheless, there are persons, not a few, who refuse to believe in the truth of the abominable crimes which continue to be committed by the Bolsheviks, and extend some sympathy to them merely because they profess to be the "friends of the proletariat," being really "hostes humani generis." This is one of the things which make one feel as if the world had gone mad.

The Russian Information Bureau in New York published in the last issue of its paper *Struggling Russia* a most eloquent "Appeal to Humanity" from the pen of the famous writer Leonid Andreeff, who paints a picture of the appalling sufferings of the Russian people and especially of the unfortunate people still left alive in the doomed capital of what was once the empire of Russia, a picture such as would profoundly move the heart of even the most callous cynic. An introductory remark of the editor expresses the hope that the so-called "parlor bolsheviks" will read it and will understand "the crime they are committing in going about

and speaking of the régime of murder in Russia as a new and higher form of democracy.”

The formidable problem of bolshevism cannot be light heartedly passed by with similar shallow definitions. If one goes to the bottom of things, bolshevism is but the outbreak in a particularly virulent form of that old, chronic and incurable disease, with which civilized mankind is and probably always will remain afflicted—the everlasting strife between those who “have” and those who “have not.” Incurable, because there is not and there never can be a sufficiency of the good things of this world to go round and, therefore, their enjoyment will always be limited to a small minority, whereas the thirst for such enjoyment among the great majority will constantly grow, as the contrast between the luxury and the ease of the few and the want and the limitations of the many becomes ever greater and more glaring. Discontent with the narrow limitations of a life condemned to incessant toil, joyless monotony and anxious insecurity, such as always will be the lot of the great majority of mankind, envy of the more fortunate and consequent class hatred—these are the seeds of the disease. They were and they are present everywhere. All that was needed to make them bear fruit—and that fruit was bolshevism—was the short-sighted policy of the ruling classes of the leading nations of the world. The wasting of untold billions of the people’s wealth on gigantic armaments and finally on a fratricidal war of mutual extermination, instead of devoting, say only a tenth part of the colossal treasure thus wasted to the bettering of the lot and the lightening of the burden of the toiling masses. Such was the policy that produced and always will produce bolshevism and anarchy.

It was the suicidal feud between the ruling classes of the leading nations that created the opportunity for bolshevism to raise its head. The problem of how to deal with it stares us in the face now—not Russia alone, nor Germany, but the whole civilized world. One thing is certain: the problem of bolshevism can be solved only by all civilized mankind acting in concert to put it down. The ruling classes of all nations are a minority, but they have a sacred duty to perform; not towards themselves, which would only be acting in self-defence, but towards their peoples. The triumph of bolshevism would mean the utter ruin not only

of the "classes" but of the "masses" as well. That is the lesson which the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia is teaching the world.

At present the problem of the immediate future of Russia is one of unexampled difficulty. Its solution is urgently required in the common interest of all civilized mankind, for if bolshevism be suffered to spread it may ultimately come to mean the doom of our race and civilization. The task of seeking such a solution should be approached in a spirit free from partisanship and from the passions of international hatred bred by the world war. In others words, what is primarily needed is the total elimination from the consideration of the Russian problem of the fatally perturbing element of the relationship between Russia and the Entente Powers on one side, and Russia and the Central Powers on the other. It stands to reason that this can be brought about only by the final conclusion, if not of a general peace, at least of peace between the Powers of the Entente and the Central Powers. No peace can evidently be general without the participation of Russia, nor can any league of nations be complete without including a nation numbering still some 120,000,000 to 130,000,000 souls and occupying almost a seventh part of the surface of the inhabitable globe. But then Russia as a political entity has temporarily ceased to exist and there is at present no political party, nor body of men who could be held to be entitled to enter upon international engagements in the name of Russia and the Russian nation—least of all that small group of demented fanatics with their following of murderous bandits who have usurped power by violence, who maintain their tyrannical power by a régime of terrorism such as the world has never yet seen, who have completely ruined and destroyed the social fabric of the state, and who have turned what was once the empire of Russia into a wilderness of primitive barbarism—a prison, a lunatic asylum and a slaughter house.

No one can tell as yet when and how the time will come when the world will again behold Russia reconstituted as a political entity and able to resume her place in the family of nations and her status as one of the great powers. For the present all our hopes seem to lie in the evolution out of the prevailing chaos of a military dictatorship such as must always be the outcome of a prolonged state of anarchy, if the teachings of history are to be

believed. Some indications of the possibility of such a development are already discernible. Admiral Kolchak, the head of the Siberian government, having secured the recognition of his authority by General Denikine and other commanders of loyal Russian troops, has begun to use in his public utterances the firm language of a dictator conscious of his power and determined to render his will supreme. The task awaiting him—the task of reëstablishing the reign of law and order and of reuniting the shattered nation—is one of colossal magnitude and unequalled difficulty. To cope with it successfully will require the strength of a Napoleon or a Peter the Great. In working it out he will sorely need the moral support and such material assistance as may be found possible to extend to him from all well-wishers of the Russian people and all those who desire that Russia should be enabled as soon as possible to resume the place belonging to her by birthright in the family of nations. This task once accomplished it will be for the Russian people themselves to decide under what form of government they will desire to live.

One hears sometimes expressed by well-meaning people the opinion that the “soviet government” after all represents the majority of the people of what was once the empire of Russia. This delusion is apparently a fruit of the curious fascination which the establishment of the autocracy of the proletariat exercises over the minds of people totally ignorant of the condition of abject wretchedness to which bolshevism and its organ, the “soviet government,” have reduced a once great and prosperous nation. The fact, however, is that this so-called government is bitterly hated by the overwhelming majority of the Russian people, and not the least so by those unfortunates who, to save themselves and their wives and children from starvation, are forcibly compelled to give it their reluctant services.